Out of her two thousand years of history, Ireland has been fighting the English for the last eight hundred.

STORMY ISLE OF PEACE

By JOHANNES STOYE

THE isle of Ireland stands like an outpost of Europe guarding the entrance to the Atlantic. It was a key to this ocean which England had to hold firmly before she could build up her empire and her world-trade monopoly. As the English Professor Coupland put it: "England's safety depends on Ireland's subjection." Napoleon realized this and said that Ireland seemed destined, thanks to her position, to serve as a bulwark for the peace of Europe: had he, instead of going to Egypt, gone to Ireland, the power of England might have been doomed.

The French General Hoche declared that Ireland was not only the "doorkeeper of the Atlantic" but also the "road to London." And in Wales, in the port of Holyhead, there is a signpost reading: "To Ireland—64 miles." Although this indicates how close Ireland is to England, one must not overlook the dividing line to which the Irish patriot Henry Grattan has pointed. He said the Irish Sea was too narrow to permit separation; on the other hand, its very existence prevented complete union!

And now let us look at the people. Here, too, we find more separating than uniting factors. The Irish have remained to this day the Celtic-Iberians they were in prehistoric times. It was from North Africa that the warlike Iberians, a race about which there is very little ethnological knowledge, came via the peninsula later named after them to Ireland, populating the northern part especially. Centuries later came the Goidels or Gaels, a Celtic tribe from the Continent, to flow across the British Isles principally to Scotland and from there to Ireland. The second Celtic invasion, that of the Brythons, from whom the British have their name, did not reach Ireland. The Roman Empire also hesitated to make the jump across the Irish Sea, and even the intrepid vikings were not able to occupy Ireland for any length of time. Those that remained were soon absorbed by the native inhabitants. As a result, the original Celtic-Iberian population maintained itself and, as Sir William Butler once said, in Ireland the clan is still fighting against the boat crew, the clan spirit against the community spirit of the vikings.

Ireland lacked the influence of the Roman idea of state, an influence which was of such advantage and of such lasting effect in England. The Irishman never knew a uniform strong state; for him there was only the patriarchal tribal king, for whom he was ready to sacrifice his life and property. He deemed it right that all tribal kings should pay homage to one supreme king: if they did not do so, however, that was the bad luck of the *ard ri* (supreme king), for it was taken for granted that the members of a clan should adhere to their chief. This attitude holds good to a certain extent even today.

But one must not imagine that the Irish have no feeling at all for the state. They have; but, since every Irishman is at heart a mystic, it is a mystic conception. The Irishman thinks a lot and likes to talk. He resembles the Spaniard in that he strives less for wealth and other earthly treasures than for prestige and influence. He is deeply religious and a devout Catholic; his church is to him a symbol of his ancient culture. Nevertheless, his mysticism must by no means be regarded as softness. This is what the English, racially so different, have overlooked, and that is why the struggle between the two opponents became so extraordinarily violent and obstinate. The English considered themselves stern realists and the Irish easygoing emotionalists whom it would be simple to get the better of. In actual fact, the opposite was the case. The Irish were prepared for every sacrifice, even to sacrificing themselves—the English believed for a long time that they could manage with compromises and partial solutions.

IRELAND'S "VIA DOLOROSA"

At a very early date the English decided to Anglicize Ireland. In 1169 and 1170, Henry II of England invaded the island. He could only occupy parts of it, and in the Treaty of Windsor (1175) the Irishman Rory O'Connor remained king of the unoccupied parts, while Henry became the master over Meath and Leinster. Rarely has a treaty been paid as little heed as that of Windsor: the Norman barons, in their greed for land, forced their king to grant them large concessions. This is the root of all the suffering of the Irish tenants, which has continued to this day. On the other hand, those land robbers were being assimilated at such a rate that they were prohibited by the statute of Kilkenny (1367)—the first blow struck against the Gaelic influence—from speaking Gaelic, from marrying Irishwomen, and from having their children educated by Irish-

men. England wanted subjection, not absorption. In the fifteenth century, the English still only occupied the country between Dundalk and Dublin. Although Henry VII created an Irish Parliament there, it was only allowed to pass such laws as had already been discussed by the London Crown Council.

Now the union of "Englishry" and "Irishry" was finally attempted, and Henry VIII decreed his Supremacy Law of 1536, by which he deposed the Pope from his position of spiritual supremacy. By changing his title of "king" to that of "lord" meaning "sole master," Henry VIII forced the various Irish tribal kings to greater allegiance. Then Edward VI abolished mass in Ireland. Later, Mary Tudor seized the farms of the Irish, deporting those whose land she had taken, and began with the plantation policy, i.e., the sending over of English settlers. She advanced northward and burned down the cathedral of Armagh. Queen Elizabeth continued the conquest, and introduced the Protestant service. In their desperation, the Irish sought aid in Spain, England's mortal enemy—a fatal decision. As a punishment, the plantation policy was resumed in 1610 in a big way. Six counties of Ulster (the northern part of the island) which had shown particular loyalty to the Irish endeavors were settled with Puritan English and Presbyterian Scots, and the former landowners were driven out. The Ulster problem came into being and has remained unsolved ever since.

In 1641 there was an Irish revolt of unprecedented extent, and this was the signal for Cromwell's Day of Reckoning, unparalleled in murder and brutality. In 1653 the London Parliament agreed to the sale of 20,000 Irishmen as slaves to North America; hundreds of thousands perished, 7,000 alone of starvation. The punitive laws brought untold suffering. Catholic Ireland was to disappear. After the Battle of the Boyne, further hundreds of thousands of acres were seized and their owners dispossessed. The Irish became tenants on their own soil, of which they were not allowed to acquire as much as an inch. One must know all these facts to understand the present tension between Ireland and England. The Irish were not allowed to become either officials or lawyers or officers. In the Irish Parliament, which was dominated by a few English families, there were only Protestants. Catholics did not even possess the right to vote until 1793. The Gaelic language was almost strangled. Flourishing trades were destroyed, ports closed, towns and villages swept away.

But time brought alleviations. By 1750 the situation had become comparatively quiet. Straw men were to be found for the acquisition of land, and trade and commerce were beginning to flourish. In 1782 the Irish Parliament was put on an equal level with that of London. The English king retained his veto right merely on paper. Ireland even received her own armed forces, army as well as navy. The only thing that still united London and Dublin was the person of the king. The solution of the Irish question seemed within reach. The English readiness to compromise seemed to be bearing fruit; yet it was only the lull before the storm. The Irish—uncompromising, passionate, unyielding to the point of stubbornness—wanted no community of any kind with the oppressor. As once before with the Spaniards, they now threw in their lot with England's great enemy, revolutionary France (1796).

ATTEMPTS AT SOLUTION

The Irish Protestants feared bloody revenge from the Catholics and soon asked for complete union with England. This became fact in 1800, Ireland losing her parliament and sending one hundred representatives to Westminster. Throughout the nineteenth century she was administrated like a colony from London, with a viceroy residing in Dublin. There was a special Minister for Ireland, as there was for India.

The liberal epoch brought some political alleviations for the Irish, and in 1829 a law was passed emancipating the Catholics. But in the economic field, liberalism with its free trade meant increased distress. In 1800 Dublin had 93 wool factories, in 1840 only 12. In 1846 the failure of one potato crop after another resulted in a terrible famine; hundreds of thousands perished, one and a half million emigrated to America. Fierce revolts took place in 1848 and 1867, and as a result Gladstone first proposed Home Rule for Ireland in 1868. Since 1869 the Anglican Church received no better treatment in Ireland than the Catholic. But more could not be achieved, mainly owing to the obstinacy of the Irish and the disunity among them.

In 1886 Gladstone made another attempt to bring about Home Rule, but Joseph Chamberlain succeeded in preventing it. In the following years the Ulster problem reared its head. The people of Ulster swore they would rather die than allow themselves to be united with the Catholic south and to be delivered up to a herd of bumpkins and bigots. In 1902 Asquith introduced a Home Rule bill; it suffered the same fate as its predecessor. Now the idea was advanced of treating Ireland something like a Dominion, like Canada or Australia. In 1914 an agreement was finally reached—when the Great War broke out. The Home Rule Act did not come into effect.

NEW BATTLES

Further developments were characterized by the resistance from Ulster. There the opponents of an Irish parliament had formed a vigilance corps in 1913 and announced that they would frustrate any attempt on the part of

London to create an Irish Home Rule parliament. In the south, the Irish Volunteers were immediately formed, and Eamon de Valera was one of their most active leaders. Born in America, the son of a Spaniard and an Irishwoman, he lost his father when he was three years old and was brought up in Ireland by relatives. He studied mathematics and became Professor of Mathematics in a seminary for women teachers. Marrying a teacher, he came into contact through her with the growing movement for resurrecting almost forgotten Irish customs and reviving the Gaelic tongue, which by that time was being spoken by only a very few Irish.

On Easter Sunday of 1916 a revolt flared up in Dublin, and the Irish Republic was proclaimed. Sixteen leaders of the Irish Volunteers were shot; then a halt was made—De Valera would have been the next—and the remainder were pardoned. When in 1917 the Great War took an unfavorable turn for the Allies, the prisoners were released, as otherwise the United States, where there is a strong and influential Irish element, could not have been induced to enter the war.

De Valera became the leader of the new movement for independence. In the elections of 1918 the radical Sinn Feiners ("we ourselves") were victorious, and in January 1919 the delegates assembled in Dublin as a protest against the system still in force and published a declaration of independence. The English opposed the protest parliament, the Dail Eireann, vehemently, and the battle raged for two years. In July 1921 an armistice was agreed on, after De Valera had traveled in America and raised a large loan there. The ensuing negotiations in England led to no result, as Lloyd George insisted on a very close union with the Empire while De Valera wanted only loose ties, an "external association." De Valera resigned his post as leader of the young republic, since his party friends shared the English view.

In June 1922 a new civil war broke out, for which the Labor Party, the Farmers' Party, and the Independents were responsible and which lasted until the spring of 1923. The issue at stake was the English-Irish treaty of 1921, which had complied fully with Ulster's wishes and had, politically as well as economically, separated these eternally restless six counties from the south and made them part of Great Britain. The south was declared a free state of the rank of a British Dominion similar to Canada. In the course of the fighting, Griffith and Collins, two of the principal leaders, lost their lives; and William Cosgrave, who supported moderation and an understanding with England, ruled until 1932. He did not oppose the oath of allegiance of the Irish to the British Crown; he also paid the land annuities (installment payments on land returned to Irish tenants), but he advocated the return of Ulster.

DE VALERA

Except with regard to the reunion of Ulster, De Valera was a vehement opponent of Cosgrave, in economic and domestic-political respects as much as in affairs of foreign policy. He always emphasized Ireland's ancient native culture, her own language, her legal code which had already been highly developed in olden times, and her early Christianization. What he condemned above all was the enforced monoculture, brought about by the destruction of the Irish economic system, which had led to a vast preponderance of cattle-raising and, in consequence, to complete dependence of the country on exports to England. In 1925 he resigned from the radical Sinn Feiners and founded the Fianna Fail ("fighters of destiny"). In 1932 he won the elections against Cosgrave, and in 1933 he even obtained full majority. Now events moved swiftly: first the oath of allegiance was abolished, then the land annuities, early in 1936 the Senate; and side by side with all this a large-scale economic program was developed aiming at self-sufficiency—meaning a well-balanced adjustment of industry, trade, agriculture, and cattle-raising, not an exaggerated seclusion. Self-sufficiency in food, home manufacture of clothing, adequate building of homes, large-scale reforestation, these were De Valera's aims. It did not harm his position very much that England declared an economic war as a punishment for the retention of the land annuities, for this only helped him to milden the overemphasis on cattle-raising and to promote agriculture. While formerly fifty per cent of the wheat consumption had to be imported, complete self-sufficiency was now aimed at. The Irish farmer benefited from the ruthless throttling of the imports of food

and drink from £17.4 million in 1931 to £9.8 million in 1935. As the cattle-raisers received no aid, Cosgrave increased his following to a certain extent, which explains the decline in votes for De Valera in 1937 as compared with 1933.

NEW IRISH CONSTITUTION

Politically speaking, the opposition to Cosgrave is based on the dispute over the position of the King of England within the framework of the Irish constitution. De Valera would not tolerate a Governor General as the representative of the British Crown, and in December 1936 the crisis in the English royal house gave him an unlooked-for opportunity to eliminate the King in his internal functions from the constitution of the Free State, as well as to let the Governor General disappear. At the same time—this was typically Irish and from the English point of view a constitutional splitting of hairs—he recognized the King in his external functions, namely, as an ideal connecting link among the various parts of the British commonwealth of nations. This new order of things formed the basis for the new constitution, which was accepted by the people in July 1937. This meant that De Valera had finally achieved his "external association." The last traces of the treaty of 1921 were done away with. Ireland is now called "Eire," and theoretically the constitution applies to the whole of the island, as De Valera still lays claim to Ulster. In practice, however, the division of 1921 has remained. Eire is a republic; but as a member of the British Empire, based as it is on a monarchy, she is a "republican kingdom."

Trade relations between Eire and England remained without a solid basis, as the former had not participated in the Ottawa Conference (1932) and thus lacked the advantages granted to the other Dominions by England. Nor was there a trade agreement between the two countries, the "cattle-coal agreement" of 1934 being at best no more than a provisional solution.

Other outstanding problems were the final settlement of the land annuities and the restitution to Ireland of the three naval bases of Berehaven, Cork Harbour, and Lough Swilly to Eire, apart from the Ulster question. Preliminary talks led to the opening of negotiations in London in January 1938; but after a protracted haggling lasting until the end of February, it seemed as though they were to break down. Yet two months later, on April 25, both parties arrived at a compromise understanding on all except the Ulster problem. Effective from December 31, 1938, the three ports were to be handed over to Eire, and the British troops stationed there to be withdrawn. The stipulations of the 1921 treaty whereby Eire was to assist Britain's defense in the case of war or of an imminent danger, were lifted. The land annuities were to be settled once and for all by the transfer of £10 million payable that year, except for an annual indemnity of £250,000 payable according to the agreement of December 1925 for damages sustained by English property in Ireland, which Eire has to continue to pay. A trade agreement did away with all extra duties levied by England since 1932 on Irish agricultural products and cattle, as well as the Irish retaliatory duties on English coal and manufactured goods, and put the trade exchange on a more solid footing.

When the retrocession of the three naval bases to Eire was debated in the House of Commons, being defended by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, Churchill vehemently opposed this step. The active radius of the British fleet, he declared, would after the evacuation of the ports be reduced by four hundred miles, and no one could guarantee in the case of war an attitude on the part of Eire which would be tolerable to England. As so often in Westminster in cases affecting the Irish question, there were two ideas, two methods, opposing each other. One regarded the English means of power as more important than the demands of the Irish; the other hoped by acceding to these demands to stabilize English-Irish relations and to release them from the deadlock of "eternal hostility." In a similar manner as Gladstone had done in his struggle for the Home Rule bill, Chamberlain confronted the sacrifices England would have to make in the Irish question with the "imponderable but inestimable fruits with which in the past on various occasions a selfless act of magnanimity by a powerful state toward a weaker and poorer country had been rewarded." We have seen that the House of Commons accepted his point of view.

When after the British declaration of war on Germany Churchill was asked in Parliament whether Eire was still a Dominion, he gave no reply. The Irish declaration of neutrality, which De Valera had announced and which he repeated upon the entry of the United States into the war, corresponded to the desire of the entire population as well as to the tradition of a policy of independence which had tenaciously and laboriously detached the country from the interests of English policy and was not inclined to let that country be involved again in a foreign political conflict of Great Britain. The restitution of the three ports had been the last step on this road. Ireland's neutrality, honestly declared and honestly kept, was based on De Valera's clear pronouncement that Eire would never participate in a war against her will but would also never tolerate her territory being used by a third power for an attack upon England.

THE IRISH IN AMERICA

We have indicated before how strong the

Irish element is in the United States and what it meant for De Valera after the Great War to have so many countrymen over there. In addition to the money they gave him, they also gave him their moral support, and Lloyd George had to abandon his unbending attitude unless he wanted to risk losing the aid of the Americans in the war. The Irish in America behave in exactly the same way as is to be expected from their racial composition. They like to play the leader, they love to make rousing speeches, to organize people, to order them around, to put new ideas into the world, and to hold interminable discussions. They do not believe in money-making or working hard for the sake of possessions. In short, they have always been very un-American. Their Catholic attitude led them to support the Democratic Party.

"Tammany Hall," a Democratic political club in New York, is an Irish creation. During the second half of the last century, it succeeded in gaining the support of the majority of emigrants and in acquiring great influence in the administration of New York City. Some people regarded it as a source of energetic assistance for the dispossessed and suppressed; others as an evil center of corruption. What originally motivated this organization was the desire to keep the American melting pot within bounds and to maintain as far as possible the individuality of the various foreign groups. The old Irish clan spirit is still effective in America; the Irish-American politician has developed the patronage and spoils system to perfection. He is by no means a revolutionary but considers himself more of a reformer and knows of no higher goal than to obtain economic and professional advantages for a certain group, so to speak his clan.

The millions of Irishmen who fled from political oppression and starvation at home did not, when they became United States citizens, forget their rancor against England. In the name of America's democratic freedom they demanded freedom for Ireland. The greater the pressure imposed upon Ireland, the more did America serve as a refuge for the legal and illegal organizations fighting for Ireland's freedom. Indeed, during the struggle for Home Rule the Irish-Americans were almost more radical than the Irish at home. This attitude was not without influence on the general feelings for England in America. Even when the United States entered the war in 1917, this did not harm the Irish cause. The Irish demands coincided with the American ideas about the rights of the smaller nations, to safeguard which Wilson allegedly led his crusade against the Central Powers. And the less the English were able, in spite of brutal methods, to overcome the Irish obstinacy, the more blame was attached to them on the other side of the Atlantic for not finding a peaceful solution to the Irish question. Behind Lloyd George's treaty of 1921 and Neville Chamberlain's readiness to come to an agreement, too, stood the necessity of pacifying the voices of dissatisfaction raised in America.

It is indicative of Roosevelt's attitude toward the neutrality and sovereign rights of other peoples and nations in the Atlantic Charter age that the American Government, in its desire to force all neutrals into the Allied camp, has renounced the traditional Irish-American friendship and demanded concessions from Eire which she cannot grant without surrendering the independence she has gained at such cost. Without neutrality in a war waged by England, Eire would be at the mercy of England's war conduct. Dublin became aware of the fact that Roosevelt is as much an enemy of De Valera and neutral Eire as Churchill when in 1940 the Irish Minister in Washington, Aiken, tried in vain to purchase a few ships in order to fill the shortage of Irish merchant vessels. He found that England had a priority on all ships. Even before America's entry into the war, American technicians appeared in Northern Ireland in October 1941 to prepare the landing head of the US expeditionary forces and the air bases which have since been completed with Irish labor. In reply to De Valera's reiteration of his country's neutrality, Roosevelt sent him a message announcing the landing of large troop contingents in Eire's immediate vicinity which, he claimed, represented not a threat to but a protection of Ireland. The Irish Government was also recommended in this message to undertake steps to prevent its "standing alone when the time for peace conferences has come."

ECONOMIC WORRIES

The trade pact of 1938, which was to normalize the exchange of goods, could not efface the economic vulnerability of Eire. The worst legacy of British rule was the transformation of fertile soil into grazing land. In spite of strenuous efforts, De Valera has not yet been able fully to overcome this handicap. Moreover, Eire has no coal or fuel, which must be imported for the maintenance of her transportation system and what industry she has. She has now turned to exploiting her water power and her peat deposits to bolster her economic self-sufficiency.

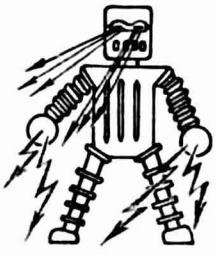
Before the outbreak of war, England began to throttle down her exports to Eire, so that, for instance, her annual peace-time supply of 3½ million tons of coal was soon cut down to half. In Eire's prewar trade, £26.3 million out of her total imports of £41 million came from the United Kingdom, and of her £24 million of exports £20 million went to Great Britain. By 1942 Eire's total trade had sunk to £34.6 million imports as compared to £32.6 million exports. Urgently as England needed meat

and fats from Ireland, the aid she received from the United States made it easier for her to increase the economic pressure she had been exerting on Eire since the outbreak of war.

Ireland's strength lies in her grim capacity to hold out under all external restrictions of her requirements without forfeiting any of her national vigor and unity; if necessary, the Irish are determined to get along with little bread and without coal or gas, without railways or motorcars. In May 1944 the dissolution of the Dail after a narrow defeat (by one vote) of the Government in a vote of confidence resulted in new elections. The question of neutrality was not an immediate issue in this election; but the successful defense of Eire's neutral status, which had just weathered another storm of USA and British pressure, could not fail to have some bearing, either favorable to the Government or otherwise, on the election. The clear majority of the Government party Fianna Fail (76 out of 138 seats) fully vindicated De Valera's policy and strengthened his position both internally and externally.

* * *

Ireland's struggle for freedom and sovereignty is more than a purely Irish affair. In view of Ireland's significance to the British Empire as well as to a considerable part of the population of the United States, this struggle is a factor affecting world politics.



A part of probability is that there are many improbable things.

Aristoteles.

ROBOTS

By G. PROBST

A recent newsreel from Germany which ran in Shanghai showed a crewless miniature tank in action: the "Goliath Robot Tank," which has been used at the front to destroy enemy obstacles. This recalls to our mind other robots:

"Robot bombs fly to England. . . ."

"Military value of German robot arms admitted by Allies. . . ."

One might be inclined to believe that robots are a modern war invention; but this is not the case, ancestors of these robots having done peaceful work centuries ago. In some parts of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the serf labor that peasants had to do for their lords was called "robot service" (from the Slavic *rabota*, meaning work), and the peasants who were obliged to do this compulsory work were called "robot peasants." A special robot patent issued by Empress Maria Theresa in 1775 regulated the robot privileges, which remained an important constituent of feudal economics up to the nineteenth century. Gradually they were replaced by payment in money or goods, and the robot sank into oblivion. In the large encyclopedias published during the early years of this century, the word is not even to be found.

Technical progress and the movies have lifted the robot from obscurity and have used the word as a designation for fully automatic machines as well as for men employed at soulless, mechanical labor. Inventive advertising agencies have also applied the expression to household devices and cameras, although these are not typical robots. If we look up the word in a modern encyclopedia we find in the Oxford Dictionary of 1933: "Robot is a living being that acts automatically or a machine devised to function in place of a living agent." It goes on to quote Bernard Shaw's characteristic definition: "Robots are persons all of whose activities were imposed upon them and who were not allowed even the luxury of original sin."

Thus the word robot is often used in personified form. Its chief characteristics are mobile, mechanical activity, like a machine; automatic execution of the work entrusted to it, and absence of any free will of its own, like a slave; in short, an organic or mechanical automaton.

THE GOLEM

Men have dreamed for thousands of years of creating artificial human beings. The priests of ancient Egypt experimented with artificial gods with whom they wished to impress the credulous. The alchemists carried out experiments to produce "human substance" up to quite recent times, as witness the manufacture of the homunculus in a retort in Goethe's *Faust*

The Jewish legend of the fearsome Golem has been popularized by Meyrink's novel and by the movies. The origin of this legend was traced to ancient Hebrew tales; perhaps it goes back to old memories of the people of Israel from the time of their captivity in Egypt.

Jakob Grimm of fairy-tale fame described